2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

The Ancient Form

631 623 The Papago had no central government. Each village unit was autonomous and when two units occasionally joined, for war or games, the union was temporary. There are traditions of meetings, held in time of crisis by the leaders of several different units, generally involving the divisions of Archie and Kuhatk. At such times, the Archie leader was deferred to, since the Archie people were "the oldest settlers" and the "first up from underground". The deference seems to have been a matter of courtesy, not organization and did not apply to Tecalote which had its affiliations in Mexico. We may conjecture from this that there were perhaps loose federations of village units but such formal organization as there was, concerned the village only. The main outlines of this organization follow roughly those of the Pueblos and may be found, in simpler form, among the Shoshoneans, both of California and the Basin.[1]

CEREMONIAL HOUSE

621 344 Every main village, as a mark of its official status, had a ceremonial house, both at the Fields and at the Wells. The one at the Fields was the largest, since it was in summer or just after harvest that most important ceremonies took place. This house was known as the Big House, or the Rain House, since it was here that the rain-making liquor was brewed. At present it is called the Round House, because it is built on the old round plan, while dwelling houses are square.

[773 537] The house was large enough to accomodate all the men in the village: perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter. At the building of a new one, a speech was made by a hereditary orator, telling of the magic building of the first house, with the help of earthworms to furnish the timbers; the gopher to heap earth on the roof; the birds to throw down feathers for a floor covering. Then songs calling for rain were sung.

New villages, leaving the parent village, erected a house in this way, bringing the orator from home for the occasion. In the winter camps, the meeting place was often a brush enclosure, since no

[1] Strong, 1927.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock.[1] Among all there was a strong feeling of kinship, although the "Papago" feel themselves different from the "Pima."

The Desert People in the United States are officially consolidated into "The Papago Tribe of Arizona." About 5,900 of them live on the Papago Reservation, roughly a sixty-five-mile square lying along the southern border of Arizona between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and the Ajo Mountains on the west, with an irregular line south of the Gila River as its northern boundary (see Map I). Others live near by on two smaller reservations: about 200 at Gila Bend to the northwest, and almost 500 at San Xavier to the east. Including a few members who live off the reservations, Papago now number close to 7,000, a large tribe which is increasing at the rate of over 1 per cent a year.

It is the Desert People, specifically those who live on the main Reservation, who are the subject of this study: they are referred to here as "the Papago" and their reservation as "the Reservation." Those herein called "the Pima" are the official "Pima tribe," who live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations to the north.

On the main Papago Reservation the people live on lonely ranches or in scattered, sprawling villages, many of which existed when the first Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, came in 1698. The village is the important unit among the Papago. It always consists of a group of related families, ranging in number from four or five to fifty or sixty household units, totaling perhaps three hundred individuals. However, there are only a few large villages: only thirty-six villages of more than fifty people on the entire Reservation. Sells, the seat of the government agency, has over one thousand inhabitants, but the number of white persons and the fact that many of the Papago families attracted there by government jobs are unrelated make this settlement atypical.

Villages are interrelated through the dialect groups. The original groups were first described by Father Kino, who thought of them as being virtually separate tribes (see chap. v). Since his time the various groups have moved to their present locations and have become officially consolidated into one tribe, but the divisions are still recognized by the Papago.

The dialect groups have recently acquired political significance. In 1936 the Reservation was divided into nine districts, roughly equivalent to the dialect groups but also determined by administrative and economic consideratons (see Map I). The outlying San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations form two additional districts. Population in the districts on the main reservation varies from 1,200 in Sells to 250 in Gu Vo, the western districts being most thinly settled.

1. There are over fifty linguistic stocks in use among Indians of the United States and Canada today, some of them as different as English and Chinese (see Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 391–400).

(4) [Text continues on p. 7]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

The two largest Indian villages are in the central and southeastern sections of the Reservation—Topawa in Baboquivari and Gu Achi (Santa Rosa) in the Gu Achi District.

Unlike most Indian tribes in the United States, the Papago have rather recently come under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior; the main reservation (the last large one established) dates only from 1917. The local government agency at Sells on the Papago Reservation is also responsible for the San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations.

The Reservation population includes about fifty white government employees and their families, chiefly concentrated at Sells. Scattered over the Reservation are other white people—teachers in the schools under government or religious auspices, other members of the government and mission staffs, traders, and a few miners.

The Papago live on the land, as they have for centuries, by farming small fields and raising livestock, but in recent years they have depended increasingly on wage work on near-by ranches and farms and in mines as well as on employment by the government. Thus an alien culture is entering into their way of life—a culture that has already made a deep impression on the Desert People.

As a group the Papago do not much resemble the stereotype which the word "Indian" brings to the minds of most white people: tall gaunt men in eagle-feather headdresses and blanketed women carrying babies on their backs. Though most Papago are rather tall, have large shoulders and chests, and are inclined toward obesity,[2] some are small and slender, and others are of medium build. In all there is a delicacy of feet and hands which suggests small bones. Typical Papago have wide faces with rather heavy features; slanted eyes and long-lobed ears are common. They have dark-brown eyes and straight black hair. Many are dark-skinned, but much of this coloring is due to life in the sun; when a man rolls up his sleeves, one usually sees arms that are a soft yellowish brown.

Among the Desert People there are few extreme variations of physical type such as may be observed on reservations like the Sioux, where an Indian may have flaxen hair and blue eyes. Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of those on the tribal roll are "Papago-American," i.e., have white blood. But there is some Yaqui and other Indian blood among the Papago, and in recent years a few young Papago have married members of other Indian tribes they met at off-Reservation boarding schools.

2. See Norman Gabel, "A Comparative Racial Study of the Papago" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

646 be rushed or pushed into action. If these qualities are respected by government representatives, they are more likely to gain the support and active participation of the council in their common responsibility—the welfare of the Papago.

THE TRIBAL COURT

671 Off the reservation Indians are subject to state and local law. On their reservations they are subject to federal law in regard to ten major crimes: murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault with a dangerous weapon, arson, burglary, larceny, incest, and robbery. All other offenses are dealt with according to the tribal law.[9]

The Papago code of law and order, drawn up by a committee of the tribal council,[10] is in the main a codification of the old laws and customs of the people. However, it includes several white innovations such as the requirement of a marriage license and ceremony and provision for probating estates and appointing guardians.

692 On the Papago reservations law is administered by a tribal court and Indian police. The tribal court is presided over by Indian judges whose appointment by the superintendent must be approved by the tribal council. The constitution provides for three judges in all, but at the time of this study there was only one on the main Reservation and one at San Xavier.

626 696 681 [674] As noted in chapter iv, many difficulties which might come to court are settled within the family without recourse to law, or are taken to the village court. Since the Papago are a law-abiding people, not many cases come up for trial. In one year only 116 were on record, the majority cases of drunkenness. The usual sentence is a number of days in jail. The normal Papago does not like such a sentence, for he does not like to have "people talk," as they do when someone is behind bars. Thus the diffuse sanctions of public opinion are important in maintaining the legal sanctions.

693 Indian judges and police are not in a particularly happy position. Several past incumbents criticized for favoring kinsmen or people of their own religious denomination resigned. At the time of this study, one of the judges nominally a Presbyterian apparently was not accused of partiality.

DISTRICT COUNCILS AND COURTS

631 634 657 According to the tribal constitution, the district is the basic unit of government, with an elected council and a court. Actually, however, as indicated in preceding sections, this white pattern of government has not really taken root

9. Or, in the absence of such a code, according to a code of laws for Indians embodied in U.S. Code, Title 25.

10. Approved 1945.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

on the Reservation. The districts were created to facilitate range management, and, while in the main they coincided roughly with the areas occupied by the various dialect groups, the boundaries cut across old lines of communication and usage. Nor are these boundaries mere symbols, for they are marked by fences erected to prevent the cattle of one district from straying into another and eating up its range. Some fences cut through established ranges and kept cattle from their usual watering places. An added annoyance was that they cut across some old routes from one village to another. The fences have now stood so long that the people have adjusted to them, but the districts which they mark off have never become real entities.

At the time of the present study the council of Baboquivari District in the southeast consisted of ten members, with one or two representatives from each village except Topawa, which had four in accordance with its size. Supposedly these representatives were elected at village meetings every two years. The council formerly had met every month on the Friday preceding the tribal council meeting, and anyone interested might come and participate in the discussion. However, interest had apparently fallen off, for no meetings had been held recently.

Hickiwan and Gu Vo district councils were organized on the old pattern: every adult male was eligible to speak and to vote. However, as previously noted, Hickiwan had been so badly split that no united action was ever taken, and only one meeting was held in the two years preceding this study. Gu Vo had had no meetings at all.

At one time consideration was given to the establishment of district courts where small matters could be decided. The people of Baboquivari indicated a desire to try out such a court, but it was never set up. Here, as elsewhere on the Reservation, minor disputes which cannot be settled by the family are still taken to the old village court.

THE PAPAGO AND THE LARGER WHITE WORLD

Papago who go to work off the Reservation—as they have done in increasing numbers since 1940—receive varying treatment. Where they work in large numbers, as on the ranches and at the Ajo mine, they are given a good deal of consideration, for they are known as good and steady, though slow, workers. Ranchers allow their workmen to go home occasionally and treat them according to their merits as honest and hard-working individuals. Papago who have gone out to work for several years usually return to the same employer, and quite friendly relations are often established between them.

Contacts with employers at the mine are, of course, far less personal, but

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

822 616 it belongs to the red people. Members of salt expeditions formerly painted on their faces the color of the division to which they belonged. The red people were, according 822 1773 to mythical tradition, the original owners of the country, but Elder Brother, *Sîbu*, having been ill-treated by them, brought the white people from the underworld and after many big fights the red ones were almost exterminated, and even to this day they are fewer than the white groups. Much in the minority are those families whose children address their father as *mámekam* or *vávekam*. The rarest of the groups is *vav*, and the most common, *ápki*. The mounds are attributed to the red people.

• 631 The rancherias appear to have a division of their own, that part of the Papagueria which is comprised within Arizona being divided into four provinces. Probably the present District of Altar is included in one of them. These subdivisions are:

I. *Ánekam* (name derived from a leguminous tree, *an*) consists of the rancherias Ánekam, Kukómalik, and Tjúupo; in other words, the upper part of Santa Rosa valley as far north as the Kohatk people, who are Pimas.

II. *Hobóla* (meaning of the word unknown) is the north-western part of the Papagueria. These people extend west of the Quijotoa range as far as Gila Bend, including Aktjin rancheria, four or five miles south of the modern Maricopa railroad station. Their original starting point is said to have been Cacate rancheria and includes such rancherias as Pozos Muchos, Sauceda, Pozo Blanco, and Barajita.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

631 [184 291] III. *Tótokvan.* ("Those who wear loose breech cloths." *Tókvan*, something loose. The designation alludes to the habit of the people of this section of using long or loose loin cloths or breech cloths, different from those worn by the other groups. They are at present more frequently called by the nickname *kíkima*, smart ones.) This section comprises most of the Santa Rosa valley, the Comobabi range, and extends east as far as San Xavier, which place was settled mainly by people from Santa Rosa. This is, roughly speaking, the north-eastern part of the Papagueria.

IV. *Kokeloroti* (Indian rendering of the Mexican *Tecoloteros;* from *tecolote*, owl). Their original name is *Tjukutkokam Kíkam*, "owl's cry inhabitants." *Tjúkutko*, owl's cry; *tjúkut*, owl, and *ko*, cry; *kikam*, inhabitant, derived from *ki*, house. These people are said to have started originally from the rancheria Tecolote, in Papago Tjúkutko, and extend from Indian Oasis southward, comprising such rancherias as Fresnal, Kóxikux, Tecolote, Sépanovak, and Pozo Verde. This section is approximately the south-eastern part of the Arizona Papagueria, and, according to the information of a Papago otherwise trustworthy, also includes the Mexican Papagoes.

771 773 Although the Papago, as we have seen, have elaborate dancing festivals, their religion is not regulated by exterior observances to such an extent as is the case with many other Indian tribes, as, for instance, that of the Pueblo Indians, or of the Huichols of Mexico, whose whole life is ruled by ceremonies and symbols. Many

middle 1930's under the influence of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. His program, in part, was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act, which contained specific provisions for the preservation of Indian land holdings and the assumption by Indians of some measure of control over their own resources; authorization for the establishment of tribal self-government and federally chartered tribal business corporations; and the establishment of a revolving loan fund for economic development purposes. The intention was to solve Indian social and economic problems through the development of Indian initiative, but it was a "boot strap" program unsupported by necessary governmental appropriations for the training of Indian leaders and the development of Indian organizations, not to mention inadequate appropriations for education, health services, resources development, and routine administrative services. In the case of the Papago, among many other tribes, the program also lacked effectiveness because the majority of individual Indians were not yet committed to any major changes in their way of life.

175 657 [185]

Under the provisions of the Act, Papago Indians living on the main reservation and on the reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend, joined together to form a single tribal government with headquarters at Sells. The tribal constitution and by-laws, however, provided for an important degree of local autonomy under a system of district councils with each district having two members on the tribal council.

175 642 [631]

175 San Xavier and Gila Bend were each treated as a district and
● 631 the main reservation was divided into nine districts which conformed with the grazing districts previously established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The nine districts on the main reservation are: Paboq Livari, Chukut Kuk, Gu Achi, Gu Vo, Hickiwan, Piciniwo, Schuk Toak, Sells, and Sif Oidak. (See Map 1)

175 The experience of individual Papagos in the armed
177 services and in employment in war industries during World
185 War II, was the second important event in recent Papago history. These experiences opened the eyes of many of the younger Indians to the difference between the poverty of a subsistence life on the reservation and the relative prosperity obtainable through participation in the job opportunities and the economy of the non-Indian world around them. They realized that to take advantage of these opportunities they, and their children, would have to secure an education, learn how to live in outside communities, and adapt their social habits and family life to the demands of an industrialized society. They also learned that some of the miseries of extreme poverty could be avoided if welfare programs were extended to their villages, and that high death rates, particularly among infants, could be reduced through the acceptance of modern medical treatment.

175 Upon the basis of these changes in Indian interests
659 and demands, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and interested

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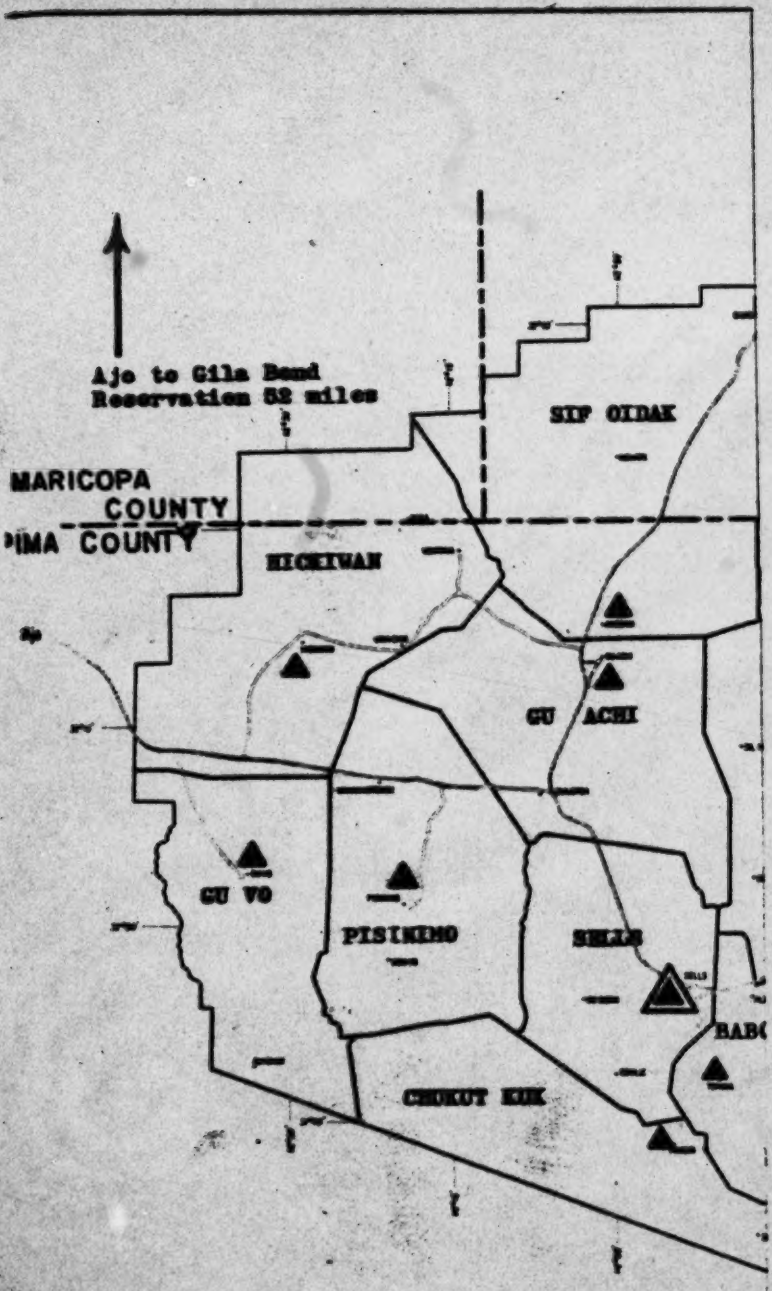

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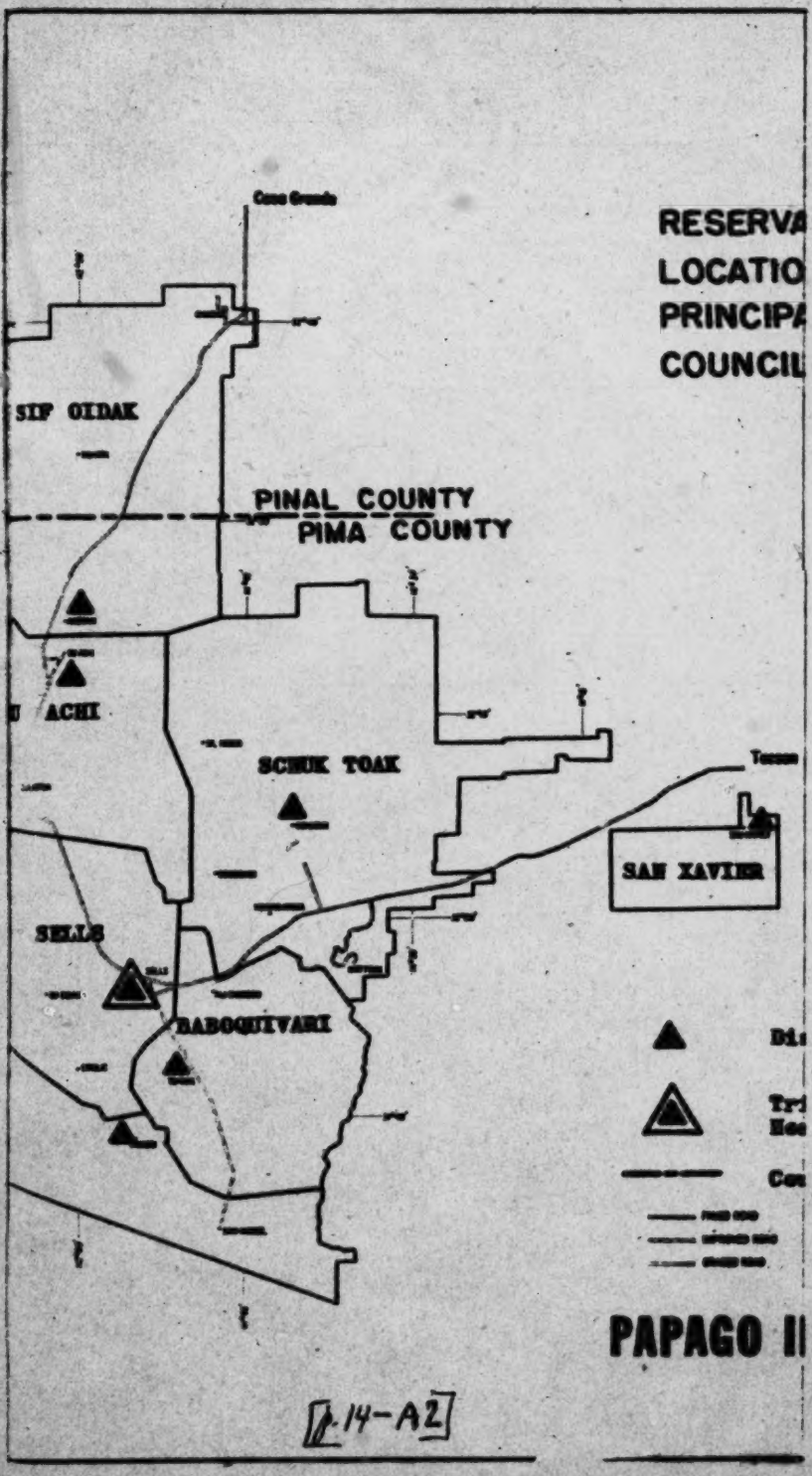

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18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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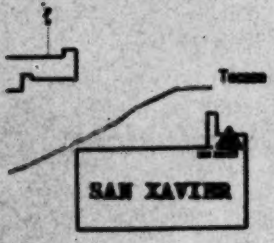
MAP I

RESERVATION DISTRICTS WITH LOCATION OF COUNTY LINES, PRINCIPAL TOWNS & DISTRICT COUNCIL MEETING PLACES



▲ District Council Headquarters

▲ Tribal and District Council Headquarters

County Line

PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

[D-14-A3]